

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4220

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, IT, FR

SUBJECT: MITTERAND DISCUSSES THE LEFT IN ITALY AND FRANCE

SUMMARY: MITTERAND PERSONIFIES THE SOCIALIST (PSI) DREAM IN ITALY OF A UNITED LEFT UNDER PSI HEGEMONY, AND GIVES HIM ENORMOUS PRESTIGE AMONG ITALIAN SOCIALISTS AS AN IDEOLOGUE OF THE EUROPEAN LEFT. IN AN IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE IN MILAN, HE CALLED MILAN'S PCI-PSI CITY GOVERNMENT A GOOD BEGINNING FOR A COMMON FRONT, DEFINED A LEFT FRONT ESSENTIAL FOR A POLICY OF SOCIALISM, SAID HIS PARTY HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH THE PCI, EXPRESSED DISAPPROVAL OF GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' PHILOSOPHY, AND DEFINED THE CURRENT OBJECTIVES OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE. END SUMMARY

1. MITTERAND'S PRESENCE AT THE PRESENTATION IN MILAN ON NOVEMBER 12 OF THE ITALIAN EDITION OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL MEETING OF OCTOBER 1974 PROVIDED THE OCCASION FOR AN IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE  
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STRATEGY OF THE LEFT IN ITALY AND FRANCE.

2. MITTERAND TACTFULLY AVOIDED GIVING MAJOR BLAME TO EITHER THE PSI OR THE PCI FOR FAILURE THUS FAR TO FORM A COMMON FRONT IN ITALY, BUT CITED THE EXAMPLE OF THE CITY OF MILAN AS A GOOD BEGINNING. EVERY COUNTRY MUST FIND ITS OWN SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT, BUT WITHOUT A COMMON FRONT OF THE LEFT, A POLICY OF SOCIALISM IS IMPOSSIBLE. ANOTHER CONDITION IS A "CLASS FRONT."

2. THOUGH HE CAREFULLY AVOIDED ANY DIRECT CRITICISM OF THE PCI STRATEGY, MITTERAND MADE CLEAR HIS DISAPPROVAL OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. IN ITALY, HE VIEWS THE PCI OBJECTIVE THE SAME AS THAT WHICH THE PSI HAD ALREADY ACHIEVED WITH THE DC, BUT RECOGNIZED THE DIFFERENCE IN THE BALANCE OF FORCES. AN AGREEMENT WITH THE DC IS A MERE "POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT." HE IMAGINED WITH SOME AMUSEMENT WHAT MARCHAIS' REACTION WOULD BE IF HE IN FRANCE PROPOSED A CENTER-LEFT TO GISCARD D'ESTAING.

3. RELATIONS OF THE PSF WITH THE PCI, HE SAID, WERE EXCELLENT. HE EXPLICITLY CREDITED THE PCI WITH TAKING AUTONOMOUS POSITIONS FROM THE SOVIET PARTY, BUT LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT FULL AUTONOMY DOES NOT YET EXIST.

4. MITTERAND CONTRASTS HIS SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY OF "AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATION" WITH THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC (SPD) THEORY OF "JOINT ADMINISTRATION," AND SAID THE PSF IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO PERSUADE THE PSD TO CHANGE ITS VIEW.

5. REGARDING HIS OWN OBJECTIVES FOR THE LEFT IN FRANCE, MITTERAND SAID THE TASK NOW IS FOR THE UNITED LEFT TO ELIMINATE OBSTACLES AND DANGERS TO SOCIALISM. THE LEFT MUST CREATE A COUNTERFORCE WHICH LEADS TO CONTROL OF ALL FORCES; OTHERWISE THE SYSTEM AND ITS SEASONED BUREAUCRATS WILL DEFEAT IT. HE IS CONCENTRATING ON VICTORY IN THE 1978 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. IF HE BECOMES PRIME MINISTER, HE WILL APPLY A COMMON PSF/PCF PROGRAM, BEGIN THE PASSAGE TO SOCIALISM, AND A NEW ERA WILL BEGIN FOR FRANCE. "I STATE ALL THIS WITHOUT BOASTING." BEAUDRY

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